

The records of Hanseatic merchants: Ignorant, sleepy or degenerate?

LAURA WRIGHT

Abstract

In this paper a short extract from the Latin/English Petty Customs Account Roll, Port of London, 1481, is analysed. This account roll details commodities brought to the Port of London by Hanseatic and non-Hanseatic merchants. It contains words of Latin, Anglo-Norman, Low German and English etymology, with Latin occurring in all parts of speech, and the other languages restricted to nouns and adjectives only. As this text type has been considered by historians, some of their opinions are given, including the observation that some nouns and adjectives occur in both their English and Latin form in the same text. It is concluded that the use of more than one language was compulsory in this text-type.

1. Commentators on the linguistic characteristics of accounts

In synchronic linguistics, the twentieth century has benefited from the rise of sociolinguistic studies into the codeswitching behaviour of multilingual speakers. We no longer proclaim the present-day codeswitcher to be ignorant or linguistically incompetent. Yet historical texts displaying an admixture of more than one language have hitherto been judged to be the result of incompetent speakers, or inaccurate scribes, despite the fact that late medieval trade records from Britain are almost always written in a mixture of more than one language. If such features as variation (in all its lexical, morphological, syntactical and orthographical manifestations), codeswitching, borrowing, pidginisation, movement from synthesis to analysis, and development of register and text type are of any interest to the historical linguist, then the written record of trade is the place to look.

By and large, the written evidence of the activities in Britain of the Hanseatic League and their trading partners has been studied by historians

interested in the economic effect of their industry. For such inquiries, the linguistic structure of the documents is not of primary interest. Nonetheless, when editing documents for publication, historians add a line or two about language. Here are a few brief examples:

The degenerate condition of the Latin, the patois of the custom house, is a striking feature of this document [an account of subsidy on general merchandize, London, 1509 – LCW]. (Gras 1918: 561)

The language of the account [petty customs account, London, 1480–1 – LCW] is what has been called ‘the patois of the custom house’, dog Latin with many English and some French words used for commodities, when there was no Latin equivalent. (Cobb 1990: xliii)

The books for 1438–40 [port books of Southampton – LCW], although chiefly in Latin, contain a number of Norman French and English words and the clerk sometimes uses words from more than one language to denote the same commodity. After 1440 the Norman French words practically disappear, but an increasing number of English words are introduced, until by the early sixteenth century most of the commodities are in English, although the headings to the entries remain in Latin. (Cobb 1961: lvi–lvii)

Although Latin was the language formally employed, English had long been present in commodity lists, as fourteenth-century accounts amply show. The use of English gradually increases in the fifteenth century, partly due to an expansion in imported manufactured goods, for some of which Latin equivalents might be unknown to the clerks. However this development also reflects the steady encroachment of English into official documents, even where the Latin was perfectly well known; thus we find *ferrum* and *yne*, *oleum* and *oyle*, *remes* and *ores* running side by side in the same account. (Childs 1986: xix)

and moving into the related text type of law (accounts are but one kind of legal text, there are many others):

A single case of Henry VIII’s day shows us ‘deer, hound, otters, foxes, fowl, tame, thrush, keeper, hunting.’ We see that already the reporter was short of French words which would denote common objects of the country and gentlemanly sport. (Maitland 1903: xxxvii)

No doubt a good many blunders in syntax were made by the original reporters, and the number of mistakes was largely increased by drowsy or ignorant copyists. (Maitland 1903: lxxv)

The medieval language of commodities seems to have earned the linguistic opprobrium of modern historians, although their factual observations are accurate. In section 2 I present examples of the kind of text they object to.

2. Data

This extract is from a typical customs account roll:¹ the commodities brought to the port of London on the 22nd June, the 2nd July and the 5th July 1481, by Hanseatic and non-Hanseatic traders:

- (1) D n^{ui} Thome Cottoñ voc^c xpofer de londoñ xxij^o die junij ./
From the ship of Thomas Cotton called Christopher of London 22nd day of June.
- (2) D Joys vañ Aysshe at p iij pp^{is} & j hogg^c Cû v pec^e . iiij Rol^t bukr^{ms} iiij pec^c
From Joys van Aysshe, alien, for 3 pipes and 1 hogshead with 5 pieces, 4 rolls buckram, 4 pieces.
- (3) trilles . iij pec^e tet liñ ft. 9^t . iiij^{xx} . vlñ ft ix pec^c & ren^{nt} cors ho^d 9^t vj^{xx} vlñ &
stout-cloth 2 pieces cloth linen flemish containing 80 ells flemish, 9 pieces and remnant coarse holland-cloth containing 120 ells and
- (4) ix . j doß wewer spot . xij doß spectacles . xij M^t . carde hed^e xviii par wolle card^e
9, 1 dozen weaver's spools, 12 dozen spectacles, 12,000 card heads, 18 pairs of wool cards,
- (5) . vj Capellis p^c xij . ð .
6 caps, price £12.
- (6) D n^u Donas Petirson vo^c Petir de Ostende . ij^o . die July
From the ship of Donas Petirson called Petir of Ostend, 2nd day of July
- (7) D Eodmⁿ magrô at pro xvj^c . pisc^e salc^e Staple pre^c xvj l^r
From the same master, alien, for 1,600 fish salt staple, price £16.
- (8) D n^u Anthonij Braband vo^c Georg^c de Middelburgh . v^{to} . die Julij.
From the ship of Anthony Braband called George of Middleburg, 5th day of July.
- (9) D Jacobo ffalk at p j hogg^c & j barrel^t Cû . iij . M^t & dî pi^t . xx sôme patynnaylle
From Jacob Falk, alien, for 1 hogshead and 1 barrel with 3,500 balls, 20 sums shoe nails.
- (10) p^c xlviii^s iiij^d
price 48s 4d
- (11) D Anthonio de lahay at p ij sac^c hopp^ê & j hogg^c Cû viij doß & ij ffalland^d
From Anthony de la Hay, alien, for 2 sacks of hops and 1 hogshead with 8 dozen and 2 Falland
- (12) flancard^e viij doß & ij Gorgett^e prec^c vij . ð . iiij^s . iiij^d
horse-armour, 8 dozen and 2 neck-armour, price £7 3s 4d

- (13) D henrico holander a^t p vn sac^c & j Basket . Cû . x doβ Cultel^t . vj doβ sheris .
From Henry Holander, alien, for one sack and 1 basket with 10 dozen knives, 6 dozen shears
- (14) vj doβ spectacles . vj doβ spectacles Casis . ij ketil^t . ij ollis eneis iij Candilstick^e j
6 dozen spectacles, 6 dozen spectacle cases, 2 kettles, 2 brass pans, 3 candlesticks, 1
- (15) rem^ant cors Canvas ⁹r . viij vlⁿ pre^c xxvj^s . viij^d
remnant coarse canvas containing 8 ells, price 26s 8d
- (16) D Anthonio kele a^t p j barel^t Clauo^a pre^c xl^s
From Anthony Kele, alien, for 1 barrel of nails, price 40s
- (17) D henrico will^ams a^t p j Bag^c Cû . iij ren^ant^e co^s ho^d ⁹r xl vlⁿ . ij pec^c ho^d ⁹r .
From Henry Williams, alien, for 1 bag with 4 remnants coarse holland containing 40 ells, 2 pieces holland containing
- (18) lx vlⁿ xliij^s . iij^d
60 ells, 43s 4d
- (19) D Bartho Spilmaⁿ a^t p ij sac^c Cana^b & j maund Cû x^c l^b pak fi^t . xx . quylt^e & ij
From Bartholomew Spilman, alien, for 2 sacks hemp and 1 basket-measure with 1,000 lbs pack thread, 20 quilts and 2
- (20) doβ tapstr^e pre^c xvij . ^ñ . vj^s . viij^d
dozen tapestries, price £18 6s 8d
- (21) D henrico Bevir^e hans pro ij Rol^t te^t liⁿ here^d pre^c xxiiij ^ñ
From Henry Bevir, hansa merchant, for 2 rolls cloth linen of herford, price £24
- (22) D herman Swarte hans p xij Cases vit^r pre^c xij . ^ñ
From Herman Swarte, hansa merchant, for 23 cases glass, price £13
- (23) D Albrig^ht ffallan^d hans pro vⁿ strawe Cer^rpon^d x . quintal^t
From Albright Falland, hansa merchant, for one measure of wax weighing 10 quintals
- (24) D Gerardo Lesberⁿ hans p vⁿ strawe Cer^rpon^d viij . quintal^t
From Gerard Lesbern, hansa merchant, for one measure of wax weighing 8 quintals
- (25) D Tylman van howel^t hans p vⁿ strawe Cer^rpond x . quintal^t
From Tylman van Howell, hansa merchant, for one measure of wax weighing 10 quintals

- (26) D Wilhmo Scapehuson hans *p* ij packe Candeleweke *pc* viij . *tī* Et *p* j Strawe Cer
From William Scapehuson, hansa merchant, for 2 packs candlewicks, price £8, and for 1 measure of wax
- (27) pon*d* x . quintal*t*
weighing 10 quintals
- (28) D Jo*h*ne Sal*m* hans *p* j basshero*n* j basket & j *pu* Cro*p*p battry *pc* xxiiij . *tī*
From John Salmer, hansa merchant, for 1 container, 1 basket and 1 small horse-trappings beaten-metal, price £23
- (29) D Lam*b*to Rotar*d* hans *p* . v barel*t* & dī Calib . pre*c*xxxiiij . L*t*
From Lambert Rotard, hansa merchant, for 5 and a half barrels steel , price £33
- (30) D Jo*h*ne Grevero*d* hans *p* vj dī barel*t* . j barel*t* j ba*t* . j basket & j bagg*o* . Cum
From John Greverod, hansa merchant, for 6 and a half barrels, 1 barrel, 1 bale, 1 basket and 1 bag with
- (31) lxviij pec*e* Custans . boker*o* mis . iij do*β* pec*o* Cottons . ij pec*o*⁹fet parys . lx pec*o*
68 pieces of constance buckram, 3 dozen pieces of cotton, 2 pieces counterfeit paris-cloth, 60 pieces
- (32) bokerams . xj pec*e* buske larg*e* & iiij pilowes pre*c*lvij . *tī* vj*ſ* viij*d*
buckram, 11 pieces busk broad and 4 pillows, price £57 6s 8d
- (33) D hans Stut hans pro v*n* strawe Cer*o* pon*d* viij . quintal*t*
From Hans Stut, hansa merchant, for one measure of wax weighing 8 quintals
- (34) D n*u* . Copy*n* . Andrewson voc*o* ffastelave*n* de fflusshyng*o* . Eod*m* die.
From the ship of Copyn Andrewson called Fastelaven of Flushing, the same day
- (35) D Eod*m* magr*o* a*t* *p* . iij M*t* . pisc*e* Salc*e* Staple pre*c*xxx . *tī*
From the same master, alien, for 3,000 fish salt staple, price £30
- (36) D Petro Andrewson a*t* *p* ij . M*t* . pisc*e* salc*e* staple pre*c*xx . *tī* .
From Peter Andrewson, alien, for 2,000 fish salt staple, price £20
- (37) D Bart*h*o Jo*h*nson a*t* *p* v*n* p*o*p Cum Drie hadd*e* pre*c* vj*ſ* viij*d*
From Bartholomew Johnson, alien, for one pipe with dry haddock, price 6s 8d
- (38) D n*u* Dionisij . Matthew voc*o* Mawdely*n* de Barowe . Eod*m* die
From the ship of Dionisius Matthew called Mawdelyn of Bergen-op-Zoom, the same day

- (39) D Wil^hmo Grenewolt hans *p* iij *pu*² ffar^d Cû . L . tymbr^r letewis . j
tymbr^rxxx pel^t
From William Grenewolt, hansa merchant, for 3 small bundles with 50
timbers weasel-fur, 1 timber, 30 skins
- (40) mynk^e . iij ffurres lybert wombes *p*^c xix . *ti* vj^s . viij^d
mink, 2 furs of leopard stomach, price £19 6s 8d
- (41) D Antho^o de lahay at *p* j barelt Cû iijj doß iijj flancard^e . maylt & iij
Gorget^e
From Anthony de la Hay, alien, for 1 barrel with 4 dozen 4 horse-
armour chainmail and 2 neck-armours,
- (42) pre^c iij . *ti* x^s .
price £3 10s
- (43) D n^u Lam^bti Will^mbrodson voc^x *p*ofer de fflusshyn^g Eod^m die .
From the ship of Lambert Williambrodson called Christopher of
Flushing, the same day
- (44) D Petro Person at *p* ij M^t pisc^e salc^e staple pre^c xx . *ti*
From Peter Person, alien, for 2,000 fish salt staple, price £20
- (45) D Bart^ho Johnson at *p* ij . M^t . pisc^e salc^e staple pre^c xx . *ti* .
From Bartholomew Johnson, alien, for 2,000 fish salt staple, price £20
- (46) D Nicholo Angelo at *p* j Cist^rCû viij *pu* barelt amel^tpon^d ij C . lb .
xx . drynkyng
From Nicholas Angelo, alien, for 1 chest with 8 small barrels enamel
weighing 200 lbs, 20 drinking
- (47) glasses Cristalt^t . v^c . glas bed^e *p*^c viij . *ti* .
glasses cristal, 500 glass beads, price £8
- (48) D n^u Edm^hdi Jo^hnson voc^r Jamys de fflusshyn^g Eod^m die
From the ship of Edmund Johnson called Jamys of Flushing the same
day
- (49) D Coppyn Passe at *p* viij . pisc^e salc^e staple . j q^r r^r drie Col^t . C
drynkyng pott^e
From Coppyn Passe, alien, for 8 fish salt staple, 1 quarter dry coalfish,
100 drinking potts,
- (50) C erthen Crock^e . iijj . lb Rosyn *p*^c xvij *ti* xij^s iij^d
100 earthen crocks, 4 lbs rosin, price £18 13s 4d
- (51) D Cornelis Bussher at *p* j quartroⁿ sat alb . xlvij bundelt liⁿ . x
pilowes C
From Cornelis Bussher, alien, for 1 quartern salt white, 48 bundles flax,
10 pillows, 100
- (52) erthen Crock^e . pre^c lvj^s . viij^d
earthen crocks, price 56s 8d

3. Commentary

As can be seen from this short extract, accounts were written in a mixture of Medieval Latin (the closed-class function words, nouns [usually superordinates], adjectives, verbs) and English (nouns [more likely to be hyponyms], adjectives) (see Wright 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1996a, 1996b, in press a–c for further discussion of the semantic relationship between Medieval Latin and English word-forms in accounts and inventories). The extract given here is written in Medieval Latin and English; other accounts of the period were written in Anglo-Norman and English.

The English component is derived from Old English and Anglo-Norman, with some influence from other Germanic languages (Low German, Old Norse) (as identified by the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, *Middle English Dictionary*, and *Oxford English Dictionary*):

Old English	Anglo-Norman	?Anglo-Norman, ?Low German
bed _e (47)	barel _t (9)	ba _t (30)
Candilstick _e (14)	basshero _n (28)	bundel _t (51)
Candleweke _e (26)	basket (13)	hop _p (11)
Cristal _t (47)	battry (28)	pack _e (26)
Crock _e (50)	Canvas (15)	tymb _r (39)
drynkyng (46)	carde (4)	
erthen (50)	cors (3)	
glasses (47)	⁹ r _f et (31)	
ketil _t (14)	do _ß (4)	
hed _e (4)	flancard _e (41)	
li _n (3)	ffurres (40)	
maund (19)	Gorgett _e (41)	
naylle (9)	hans (21)	
pilowes (32)	letewis (39)	
pott _e (49)	lybert (40)	
sheris (13)	mayl _t (41)	
Strawe (23)	parys (31)	
wewer (4)	patyn (9)	
wolle (4)	quylt _e (19)	
wombes (40)	quintal _t (23)	
	ren ^a nt (3)	
	Rosyn (50)	
	spectacles (4)	
	spo _t (4)	
	tapst _r (20)	

By contrast, the superordinate terms for cloth, fish, thread and skins are in Latin: 'teʃ' (3), 'piscē' (7), 'fil' (19), 'pelʃ' (39).

The medieval abbreviation and suspension system is used throughout, and serves to render some words visually both Latin and English simultaneously: thus '⁹ʳ' (3) can be interpreted as either Latin 'continendo' or English 'containing'; 'doβ pe c' (31) can be interpreted as Latin 'duodecim peciae' or English 'dozen pieces'; 'Rolʃ' (2) can be interpreted as Medieval Latin 'rotuli' or English 'rolls'; 'liñ' (3) as Medieval Latin 'linum' or English 'linen'; 'sac c' (11) as Medieval Latin 'saccae' and English 'sacks'; 'p c' (5) as Medieval Latin 'precium' and English 'price'. Indeed, some words do not even require abbreviation or suspension symbols to render them interpretable in both languages: 'par' (4) can be read as both Latin *par* and English *pair*. The effect is to highlight the root of the lexeme at the expense of the inflectional suffix, causing the interpreter to depend on word order. This, of course, is the drift of the daughter Romance languages and English itself; as well as being a characteristic of pidgin languages.

The assumption has been that the customs officer did not know sufficient Medieval Latin to render a truly monolingual Latin text. Certainly, the measurement terms are highly restricted (for example, 'hogg' [2], 'vlñ' [3], 'sōme' [9], 'maund' [19], 'quintalʃ' [23], 'tymbr' [39]) and the significance of their quantities could vary from town to town. But the scribe who wrote 'ollis eneis' (14) *brass pots* also wrote 'drynkyng pottē' (49); and when we find both 'Cases vitʳ' (22) and 'glas bedē' (47) ('vitʳ' = *glass*) we have to conclude that the English words are not present solely because of scribal ignorance of their Latin calque (compare also the comments by Cobb 1961 and Childs 1986 above). The use of doublets, that is, synonyms from more than one input language, is another characteristic of pidgin languages: see, for example, the doublets identified by Broch and Jahr (1984) from Russian, Norwegian and English in records of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Arctic pidgin, Russenorsk. Russenorsk was also the linguistic result of economic trade, and, as with our customs accounts, none of the input languages were particularly low in status. This is in contrast to the Caribbean pidgins, where the social status of the input languages varied greatly, depending on the status of the speakers as slaves or masters. Doublets are also, of course, a characteristic of both English and Anglo-Norman legal language (such as *kith* and *kin*, *aid* and *abet*), often from a single input language.

Maitland's notion of the drowsy copyist is appealing, but it is unlikely that there could have been so many drowsy copyists, copying so many account rolls, at presumably a similar moment of dropping off to sleep, so as to produce a consistent text type. Such texts can be shown to be consistent in their mixture of languages in that the switching is rule-governed, although

those rules do not have predictive force. We can say that nouns and adjectives are potential candidates for appearing in a language other than Latin, but we cannot predict in any one instance that a given noun or adjective will appear in its non-Latin form. The switching is, nevertheless, far from random.

To what extent can accounts be said to be linguistically consistent? We have seen that a mixture of languages is used, but that English is not used for closed-class function words. Turning to morphosyntax, Latin and English have different rules for forming the noun phrase. Essentially, the Latin rule is [head + modifiers], and the English rule is [modifiers + head]. The plural agreement rule for Latin is [plural head + plural-marked modifiers], and the English rule is [unmarked modifiers + plural head]. In our extract, both rules are applied:

Latin word order:

singular	plural
ren ^a nt cors ho ^d (3)	te ^t li ⁿ f ^t (3)
rem ^a nt cors Canvas (15)	pisc _e salc _e Staple (7)
Cro ^p p battry (28)	ollis eneis (14)
	ren ^a nt _e co ^r s ho ^d (17)
	te ^t li ⁿ here ^d (21)
	Cases vit ^r (22)
	buske larg ^r (32)
	flancard _e . mayl ^t (41)
	[drynkyng] glasses Cristal ^t (46–47)

English word order:

singular	plural
Drie hadd _e (37)	wewer spo ^t (4)
drie Col ^t (49)	carde hed _e (4)
	wolle card _e (4)
	patynnaylle (9)
	ffallan ^d flancard _e (11–12)
	spectacles Casis (14)
	Candilstick _e (14)
	pak fi ^t (19)
	Candlewek _e (26)
	Custans boker ^a mis (31)
	⁹t ^r fet parys (31)
	lybert wombes (40)
	glas bed _e (47)

drynkyng pott ϵ (49)
 erthen Crock ϵ (50)
 drynkyng glasses [Cristal \tilde{r}] (46–7)

Both Medieval Latin and English word-order and plural-agreement rules are used, and do not necessarily obey the constraints of etymology: hence we find ‘drynkyng glasses Crista \tilde{r} ’ (46–47), following both English (drinking glasses) and Latin (glasses crystal) order, despite all the component terms being of English etymology; ‘pak fi \tilde{r} ’ (19) *pack thread*, where the Latin head has not attracted a postposed modifier; and ‘spectacles Casis’ (14), where the modifier agrees with the head noun. We cannot conclude that the scribe was ignorant about noun-phrase formation rules; rather, he knew both systems. Thus the rule in this text type was that both systems must be used. Variation was not an option, but compulsory.

Conclusion

It appeared at the start of this article as though I were criticising historians for being so presumptuous as to pronounce upon the language of their source texts. In fact, leaving aside personal opinion (i.e., degenerate, ignorant, misuse) their observations are astute and accurate. The eminent legal scholar, F. W. Maitland, in his introduction to the *Year Books of Edward II*, commented on all types of linguistic variation: spelling, gender agreement, plural concord:

No word was so short that it could not be spelt in at least two ways ... Consistency is not to be expected. (Maitland 1903: xlii)

That he has just written *beofs* (L. *boves*) is no reason why a man should not at once write *boefs*. (Maitland 1903: xliii)

Men who can be trusted with *le* and *la* are capable of misusing *un* and *une*. (Maitland 1903: l)

A clerk who writes *bastarde* for *bastard* may go on to write *bastardez* for *bastarz*. (Maitland 1903: li)

... the inconsequential and capricious treatment of the final *e* will create a bad impression on their [modern readers’ – LCW] minds, and incline them perhaps to speak of ‘kitchen French’, ‘pigeon French’, or even of ‘dog French’. (Maitland 1903: lxxix)

Whether spelled *bastarde*, *bastard*, *bastardez* or *bastarz*, this is how this text type has been regarded. Consistency is nowadays regarded as a virtue, and that a culture should value switching has been taken as evidence of its inferior moral quality: ‘dog Latin/French’ was written by our feckless ancestors and proves their ignorance/sleepiness/degeneracy.

In fact, these same characteristics can be found in accounts and inventories written in Britain from the beginning of the Middle English period to the middle of the sixteenth century, not just in customs accounts, but in the accounts of perpetual institutions and private individuals. The amount of English did indeed increase over time, as noted above by Childs and Cobb, but this is the result of the encompassing of so many Anglo-Norman words by the English language, so that as time went on, they ceased to seem French. Who could have foreseen, at the beginning of the Middle English period, which Anglo-Norman words were to enter English, and which words were to be lost? It is possible that a thirteenth-century clerk, including in his Latin base text Anglo-Norman terms which now seem to us to be highly obscure, was in fact mixing what was to him, contemporary English and Latin. It is difficult to know how a writer in 1480 regarded, say, 'buske larg' (32). Was this phrase then considered to be Medieval Latin, French, English; or a mixture? A word or phrase that appeared to be Anglo-Norman to one generation may have seemed English to the next.

Yet, the last word shall go to F. W. Maitland. His linguistic observations have outlasted the prejudices of his day, and if for 'careless/slovenly/vulgar' we understand matters such as, for example, 'reduction of inflexions', or 'borrowing words from other languages', then

In matters of language the careless, the slovenly, the vulgar, are often the pioneers and ultimately the victors. (Maitland 1903: lii)

University of Cambridge

Note

1. Transcription and word-for-word translation of London, Public Record Office MS E122/194/25 m. 8, Petty Customs Account Roll, Port of London, 1480–1. A fluent, non-word-for-word translation is published in Cobb, H. S. (ed.), 1990. *The Overseas Trade of London Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480–1*, London Record Society 27, 51–53, nos 157–163.

References

- Broch, Ingvald and Ernst Håkon Jahr (eds.)
1984 Language contact north of the Arctic Circle: A new look at the Russo-Norwegian pidgin in Northern Norway. In Ureland, P. Sture and Iain Clarkson (eds.), *Scandinavian Language Contacts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 21–65.
- Childs, Wendy R. (ed.)
1984 The customs accounts of Hull 1453–1490. *Yorkshire Archaeological Society* 144.

Cobb, Henry S. (ed.)

- 1961 *The Local Port Book of Southampton for 1439–1440*. Southampton: Southampton University Press.
- 1990 *The Overseas Trade of London Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480–1481*. London: London Record Society 27.

Gras, Norman Scott Brien (ed.)

- 1918 *The Early English Customs System*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Harding, Vanessa Anne and Laura Charlotte Wright (eds.)

- 1994 *London Bridge: Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1381–1538*. *London Record Society* 31.

Wright, Laura Charlotte

- 1992 Macaronic writing in a London archive, 1380–1480. In Rissanen, Matti, Ossi Ihalainen, Terttu Nevalainen and Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *History of Englishes*. (Topics in English Linguistics 10.) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 762–770.
- 1994a Early modern London business English. In Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.), *Studies in Early Modern English*. (Topics in English Linguistics 13). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 449–465.
- 1994b On the writing of the history of Standard English. In Fernandez, Francisco, Miguel Fuster and Juan Jose Calvo (eds.), *English Historical Linguistics 1992*. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 113.) Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 105–115.
- 1995a A hypothesis on the structure of macaronic business writing. In Fisiak, Jacek (ed.), *Medieval Dialectology*. (Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 79.) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 309–321.
- 1995b Trade between England and the Low Countries: Evidence from historical linguistics. In Barron, Caroline and Nigel Saul (eds.), *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: Alan Sutton, 169–179.
- 1995c Middle English *-ende* and *-ing*: A possible route to grammaticalization. In Fisiak, Jacek (ed.), *Linguistic Change under Contact Conditions*. (Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 81.) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 365–382.
- 1996a *Sources of London English: Medieval Thames Vocabulary*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- 1996b About the evolution of Standard English. In Tyler, Elizabeth M. and M. Jane Toswell (eds.), *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt Wisely' Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*. London: Routledge, 99–115.
- in press a Mixed-language business writing: Five hundred years of codeswitching. In Jahr, Ernst Håkon (ed.), *Language Change: Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics*. (Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs.) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- in press b Medieval Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English in civic London texts: 1421 inquisition of the River Thames. In Trotter, David and Stewart Gregory (eds.), *Papers in Honour of William Rothwell*. Aberystwyth: University of Wales Press and the Modern Humanities Research Association.
- in press c Medieval Latin and Middle English accounts: The Scandinavian semi-communication model. In Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.), *Language Contact in the History of English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.